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ABSTRACT

Elijah P. Lovejoy, generally regarded as America's first martyr to freedom of the press, was killed by a racist mob in Alton, Illinois, in November 1837, after a brief but tumultuous career as an crusading antislavery newspaper editor and preacher. Born into a stern Maine Protestant family, he migrated to St. Louis, became a minister, and began publishing a religious newspaper called "The Observer." Increasingly opposed to slavery, Lovejoy's journalistic attacks earned him such enmity that he was forced to move his press and family to Alton. Lovejoy's life in Alton produced defenses of free expression that rank him among history's greatest advocates of civil liberty. His printing presses were destroyed on three separate occasions by anti-abolitionist mobs, until the community met and formally requested him to terminate newspaper publication in Alton. Lovejoy defended himself with a speech filled with religious imagery and allusions to death--rhetoric that indicated he had assumed a martyr's mantle. When a fourth printing press arrived, a gang set fire to the building and killed Lovejoy. His advocacy of free expression places him in the tradition of Voltaire and John Stuart Mill--his legacy deriving from the symbolic power of self-sacrifice in defense of freedom. The Lovejoy episode demonstrated that the national debate over slavery, the most convulsive issue in nineteenth century America, became irreconcilably connected to the demands of free speech. (NKA)

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Elijah Lovejoy and Free Speech

Allen H. Merriam

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ELIJAH LOVEJOY AND FREE SPEECH

1987 marks the sesquicentennial of the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy, generally regarded as America's first martyr to freedom of the press. This anniversary provides a timely stimulus to review and assess the career of the man who, for insisting on his constitutional rights to oppose slavery, was killed by a racist mob in Alton, Illinois on November 7, 1837. A century-and-a-half later it seems appropriate to reevaluate Lovejoy's life and meaning. What can we learn from his intense commitment to free speech? How significant and enduring were his contributions to First Amendment freedoms?

The Making of an Abolitionist

Elijah Parish Lovejoy's career as an antislavery crusader was brief but tumultuous. Born in Albion, Maine on November 9, 1802, Lovejoy's stern Protestant upbringing imbued him with respect for piety, industriousness, and individualism. Graduating from Colby College in 1826 at the head of his class, Lovejoy joined the growing migration of New England Yankees bent on spreading social reform and Protestant values to the expanding Western frontier. Traveling to St. Louis, Missouri in 1827, the idealistic young writer taught school and worked for the St. Louis Times.[1]

Increasingly influenced by the religious revivalism of the day, Lovejoy returned East to pursue theological training at Princeton Seminary. With financial backing from the American Home Missionary Society he returned to St. Louis in November, 1833 to preach and publish a religious newspaper called the Observer. Many of his columns during this period carried attacks on drunkenness and Roman Catholicism, which Lovejoy felt were the two major threats to the moral fibre of the United States.[2]

Lovejoy's moral sensibilities soon recoiled at the mistreatment of blacks. Having entered the Union as a slave state in 1821, Missouri tolerated acts of mob violence aganist slaves and allowed the public flogging of anyone caught aiding slaves to freedom. Discussions with Abolitionist evangelists David Nelson and Andrew Benton, and his growing friendship with Edward Beecher, the young president of Illinois College in Jacksonville, intensified Lovejoy's opposition to slavery.[3]

In the port city of St. Louis, which derived much of its commercial activity from river trade with Southern states, Abolitionist sentiment was viewed as seditious. In November, 1835 a group of St. Louis citizens warned Lovejoy to cease his criticisms of slavery in a resolution which argued: "Freedom of speech and press does not imply a moral right...to freely discuss the subject of slavery..., a question too nearly allied to the vital interests of the slaveholding states to admit to public disputation." Replying at once in the Observer of November 5, 1835, Lovejoy pointed out that the Constitution supports "all freedom of speech" and that restrictions on any topic could lead to limitless censorship:

> Today a public meeting declares that you shall not discuss slavery. Tomorrow another meeting decides it is against the peace of society that the principle of popery be discussed....The next day a decree is issued against speaking against distilleries, dram shops, and drunkenness. And so on to the end of the chapter. The truth is, my fellow citizens, if you give ground a single inch, there is no stopping place.[4]

Community emotions became further inflamed in April, 1836 when Francis McIntosh, a black man who had killed a deputy sheriff in a riverfront scuffle, was burned to death by an angry mob. After viewing the mutilated corpse, Lovejoy condemned the vengeful act in an article entitled "Awful Murder and Savage Barbarity." Claiming his opinions were inciting

a slave rebellion, Lovejoy's opponents grew increasingly hostile. The Observer office was attacked and a gang destroyed some printing supplies. Harassed by threats against his infant son and wife Cecelia, a St. Charles, Missouri woman he had married on March 4, 1835, Lovejoy moved his press and family 25 miles north and across the Mississippi River to Alton, Illinois in July, 1836. With a moral fervor which viewed slavery as sinful, Lovejoy wrote:

> I have opened my mouth for the dumb. I have plead the cause of the poor and oppressed. I have maintained the rights of humanity and of nature....by the grace of God I will not, I will not forsake my principles....The cry of the oppressed has entered, not only into my ears, but into my soul so that while I live I cannot hold my peace.[5]

Lovejoy's life in Alton produced defenses of free expression which rank him among history's greatest advocates of civil liberty. Typical of the Abolitionist movement nationwide, Lovejoy's crusade became intimately linked to First Amendment rights. Indeed, in his first public utterance after arriving in Alton -- at a mass meeting in the Presbyterian Church on July 25, 1836 -- Lovejoy declared his unequivocal devotion to free expression: "I shall hold myself at liberty to speak, to write, and to publish whatever I please on any subject."[6]

The free state of Illinois appeared to offer a hospitable setting for Lovejoy's editorials against drunkenness, materialism, abuse of the Sabbath, and slavery, and for a brief time the Observer's circulation surpassed 2,000. But the public mood, and Lovejoy's fortunes, took a tragic turn in 1837. Alton's economic prosperity was undermined by the Panic of 1837, and pro-slavery forces played upon fears of miscegenation and loss of river-borne commerce with Southern states. Lovejoy's thinking about slavery, meanwhile, became radicalized so that he now sought total

and immediate abolition rather than gradual emancipation. Refusing to attend the city's July 4th celebration, Lovejoy condemned the hypocrisy of the festivities in the Observer:

> Alas! What bitter mockery is this. We assemble to thank God for our own freedom, and to eat and drink with joy and gladness of heart, while our feet are on the necks of nearly three millions of our fellow men. Not all our shouts of self-congratulation can drown their groans. Even the very flag of freedom that waves over their heads is formed from materials cultivated by slaves, on a soil moistened with their blood drawn from them by the whip of a republican taskmaster.[7]

Doing little to dispel the growing perception that he was an outsider bent on disturbing the peace of the city, Lovejoy called for a convention to organize a state antislavery society. This proposal proved unbearably provocative to Alton's establishment. Civic leaders on July 11th adopted resolutions characterizing the editor's ideas as "contrary to the disposition and will of the citizens of Alton." Facing a waning base of public support, Lovejoy vowed to continue, claiming that his expression of conscience was not only a political right but a sacred duty which "comes to us...from our Maker, and is in its nature inalienable."[8] Such reasoning, rooted in Biblical and Jeffersonian principles, proved unpersuasive with opponents increasingly determined to silence him.

The Rhetoric of Martyrdom

An angry gang of Lovejoy's opponents confronted him on the outskirts of Alton on August 21, 1837. Amid shouts of "Give him hell" and "Tar and feather him," Lovejoy appealed to the conscience of his enemies with Christ-like forbearance: "I am in your hands and you must do with me whatever God permits you to do."[9] The group finally allowed Lovejoy to leave unharmed, but it then went to the Observer office and destroyed his printing

press. Shocked at this outrage against his constitutional rights, Lovejoy promptly sought funds for a new press claiming that a fundamental issue was at stake: "...whether the liberty of speech and of the press is to be enjoyed in Illinois or not."[10] But when the replacement press arrived by boat from Cincinnati on September 21, while Lovejoy was in Jacksonville visiting Illinois College, a gang stormed the warehouse destroying the press.

With his ability to control events deteriorating, Lovejoy doggedly sought to form an antislavery society in Illinois. A convention for that purpose was called for October 26-27 in Alton. Anti-Abolitionist elements, however, flooded the meeting and passed a resolution stating that no state had the right to abolish slavery. Although temporarily outmaneuvered, the editor and about 85 supporters decided to order yet another printing press, confident that their crusade would be vindicated by "the justice of God, and...his purpose speedily to renovate the world."[11]

The following week Edward Beecher remained in Alton to preach and and attempt to reverse the growing hostility to Lovejoy's presence. Appealing to the highest instincts of civil liberty and moral courage, Beecher asserted that the failure to protect unpopular ideas implied a lack of faith in "...the power of God and the truth to defeat error in free discussion," reasoning akin to that used by John Milton in Aereopagitica two centuries earlier.[12] Beecher maintained that to allow a mob to shut down a newspaper threatened freedom of the press not only in Alton but throughout the entire United States. With rhetorical fervor reflecting his classical education, the Illinois College president declared that Alton now stood "in the very Thermopylae of the war" to protect First

Amendment rights.[13]

Beecher's reasoned defense of civil liberty proved unpersuasive given the emotion of the moment. Even some members of Lovejoy's own constituency, the religious community, seemed more convinced by arguments that it was "un-Christian" to incite upheaval in a city against the people's wishes.[14] Consequently, on Friday, November 3rd, a gathering of prominent city leaders gathered in the Market House and formally voted to request Lovejoy to terminate publication of the Observer in Alton. Prior to the vote Lovejoy gave an impassioned speech in his own defense, a plea ranking among history's classic utterances in support of civil liberty:

> Mr. Chairman, I do not admit that it is the business of this assembly to decide whether I shall or shall not publish a newspaper in this city. The gentlemen have, as the lawyers say, made a wrong issue. I have the right to do it. I know that I have the right freely to speak and publish my sentiments, subject only to the laws of the land for the abuse of that right. This right was given me by my Maker; and is solemnly guaranteed to me by the constitution of the United States and of this state.

Asking merely for protection in the exercise of his legitimate rights, Lovejoy categorically stated that he would never cease publication just to placate a mob. With rhetoric echoing Luther's historic defense at the Diet of Worms in 1521, with which Lovejoy was undoubtedly familiar, the editor declared:

> God, in his providence...has devolved upon me the responsibility of maintaining my ground here; and, Mr. Chairman, I am determined to do it. A voice comes to me...calling upon me in the name of all that is dear in heaven or earth, to stand fast; and by the help of God, I WILL STAND.[15]

Lovejoy's language in the Market House speech clearly indicates that he had assumed the mantle of a martyr. The speech is fraught with religious imagery and illusions to death. Sixteen times he made direct reference to the Deity and used words such as "sacrifice, conscience, heaven, eternal," and "cup of sorrow." Tears came to his eyes when acknow-

ledging that devotion to principle called him even, if necessary, to forsake wife, children, and parents. But the speaker said he felt an inner calm: "While all around me is violence and tumult, all is peace within." Lovejoy indicated he would never retreat in what had become a holy war against the infidels who would desecrate human freedom. With prophetic insight he claimed a willingness to die for the cause:

> I have counted the cost, and stand prepared freely to offer up my all in the service of God. Yes, sir, I am fully aware of all the sacrifice I make, in here pledging myself to continue this contest to the last....Sir I dare not flee away from Alton...It is because I fear God that I am not afraid of all who oppose me in this city. No, sir, the contest has commenced here; and here it must be finished. Before God and you all, I here pledge myself to continue it, if need be, till death. If I fall, my grave shall be made in Alton.[16]

The fourth, and final, Observer press arrived in Alton on Tuesday, November 7th and was placed in a riverfront warehouse. That evening a gang of about 25 men, fortified with whiskey and racial epithets, surrounded the warehouse bent on destroying the press. Lovejoy and his supporters had meanwhile occupied the building with guns, determined this time to protect their property. Lovejoy justified the fateful decision to use force, if necessary, in self-defense in a letter later reprinted in Garrison's abolitionist paper, the Liberator:

> ...dear bought experience has taught me there is at present no safety for me, and no defense in this place...Every night when I lie down, it is with the deep settled conviction that there are those near me and around me who seek my life. I have resisted this conviction as long as I could, but it has been forced upon me.[17]

The scene of two armed groups, one set upon smashing the printing press and the other equally determined to defend it, proved too volatile to prevent violence. Demands became threats, windows were shattered, and shots were fired resulting in the death of one attacker. Now seeking revenge,

the mob set the building ablaze and killed Lovejoy as dramatically described by Alton's mayor, John Krum, an eye witness:

> Scenes of the most daring recklessness, and infuriated madness, followed each other in quick succession. The building was surrounded, and the inmates were threatened with extermination and death in the most frightful form imaginable. Every means of escape by flight were cut off. The scene now became one of most appalling and heartrending interest! Fifteen or twenty citizens, among whom were some of our most worthy and enterprising, were, apparently, doomed to an unenviable and inevitable death if the flames continued. About the time the fire was communicated to the building, Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, (late Editor of the Observer) received four balls in his breast, near the door of the warehouse, and fell a corpse in a few seconds; two others from the warehouse were severely wounded.[18]

The Effects of the Murder

The death of Elijah Lovejoy sent waves of indignation throughout the nation. Writing after the Civil War, Tanner claimed that "no single event in the early history of the anti-slavery contest in the United States produced a more profound impression, at the time, than did the martyrdom of Lovejoy."[19] Numerous editorials and scores of public meetings denounced the events in Alton. James G. Birney's influential Emancipator, published in Cincinnati, reprinted 161 editorials critical of the murder, including condemnations from prominent writers such as William Cullen Bryant of the Evening Post and Horace Greeley of the New Yorker.[20] Illustrative of the reaction among abolitionists was Garrison's angry declaration: "Lovejoy died the representative of philanthropy and justice, liberty and Christianity: well, therefore, may his fall agitate all Heaven and Earth."[21]

The psychodynamics of martyrdom are such that the death of a hero often incites sympathizers to a deeper level of commitment. In the aftermath of the Lovejoy killing partisans called for greater sacrifices in the battle

against slavery. For example, Beriah Greene told a Utica, New York rally that Lovejoy "laid down his life for us and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."[22] Preachers compared the death to the martyrdom of St. Stephen in the early Christian church. A New York City meeting of free blacks heard that "the blood of the martyred Lovejoy call upon us to end...that most detestable system of slavery," and "that among our rights we hold none dearer than the freedom of speech and of the press."[23] John Brown, who 22 years later would be executed for leading an armed attack on the Harper's Ferry arsenal, pledged in Ohio to dedicate his life to the destruction of slavery.[24] At Boston's Faneuil Hall Ralph Waldo Emerson eulogized Lovejoy as a martyr "for humanity and the rights of free speech and opinion" at a rally which attracted 5,000 people and marked Wendell Phillips' debut as an Abolitionist spokesman.[25] And Abraham Lincoln, then a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, decried the drift toward "mobocratic" rule:

> ...whenever the vicious portion of population shall be permitted to gather in bands of hundreds and thousands, and burn churches, ravage and rob provision stores, throw printing presses into rivers, shoot editors, and hang and burn obnoxious persons at pleasure, and with impunity; depend on it, this Government cannot last.[26]

Obviously, not all Americans mourned Lovejoy's demise. Defenders of slavery viewed his death as the appropriate end for a misguided fanatic. In Alton itself, a trial was held but no one was ever convicted of either killing Lovejoy or destroying his printing press. Even within Abolitionist ranks a serious split developed over whether or not Lovejoy was justified in having resorted to violence in self-defense. The resulting tensions and ambiguities fragmented the Abolition movement, ultimately reducing the effectiveness of the American Antislavery Society as a vehicle for propaganda and social change.[27]

In later years civic-minded citizens sought to preserve the memory of America's first martyr to a free press. A Lovejoy Monument Association was organized in 1867 and succeeded in erecting an impressive monument at the entrance to the city cemetery where Lovejoy is buried on a hill overlooking the Mississippi River. Consisting of a 93-foot high granite column topped by a 17-foot high bronze statue of Victory weighing 8700 pounds, the structure was formally dedicated on November 8, 1897.[28] On the foundation is inscribed "This monument commemorates the valor, devotion and sacrifices of the noble defenders of the press" and three quotations from Lovejoy:

> I have sworn eternal opposition to slavery, and by the blessing of God I will never turn back.
>
> But, Gentlemen, as long as I am an American citizen, and as long as American blood runs in these veins, I shall hold myself at liberty to speak, to write, to publish whatever I please on any subject.
>
> If the laws of my country fail to protect me I appeal to God, and with him I cheerfully rest my cause. I can die at my post, but I cannot desert it.

Institutions and organizations perpetuate the ideals for which Lovejoy died to this day. The Illinois Press Association posthumously admitted Lovejoy into the Editors Hall of Fame at Illinois State University in 1930. Colby College holds an annual convocation at which an outstanding journalist is named Lovejoy Fellow. The International Conference of Weekly Newspaper Editors annually cites a weekly editor for courage in the Lovejoy tradition. The Elijah P. Lovejoy Memorial, a non-profit association chartered in the state of Illinois in 1952, publishes a quarterly newsletter, holds an annual Memorial Service, awards scholarships to college students, and conducts an annual pilgrimage through the streets of Alton to the Lovejoy gravesite.[29] And the Lovejoy Society of St. Louis, founded in 1977, gives

an annual Lovejoy Award to a civic leader or journalist who has made a significant contribution to human rights.[30]

Discussion

From one perspective, Elijah P. Lovejoy might be judged a failure. Murdered by a mob two days before his 35th birthday, he had alienated citizens in two states. Within a span of seventeen months he had four printing presses destroyed. He left an emotionally traumatized wife who was, at the time of his death, pregnant with their second child. But Lovejoy's historical importance stems from his writings and speeches which forcefully and unequivocally set forth the horrors of slavery and the imperatives of constitutional law. His strident advocacy of free expression clearly places him in the tradition of John Milton, Voltaire, and John Stuart Mill. Lovejoy's legacy derives from the symbolic power of self-sacrifice in defense of freedom.

The Alton Observer was not the first, nor the most influential, Abolitionist newspaper in the United States.[31] However, Lovejoy's willingness to die in defense of his right to publish unpopular ideas established the Observer controversy as one of the most significant conflicts of constitutional freedom in the history of American journalism. In the opinion of Irving Dilliard, former editor of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Lovejoy martyrdom eclipsed in importance even the celebrated John Peter Zenger Trial of 1735, for while "the New York printer went to court and was freed, the Illinois editor went to his death."[32] In acknowledging the timeless applicability of the Lovejoy case to democratic ideals, Arthur Hays Sulzberger of the New York Times said:

> Elijah Lovejoy believed that an editor can make no compromise with his principles. Elijah Lovejoy scorned the easy way out. He knew that to preserve freedom a man must fight for it whenever and wherever he sees it threatened. Ladies and gentlemen, no higher compliment can be paid to a newspaper than to say it carries on this glorious spirit.[33]

The Lovejoy episode demonstrated that the national debate over slavery, clearly the most convulsive issue in nineteenth-century America, became intimately and irreconcilably connected to the demands of free speech. While centering on the human rights of black people, the slavery question simultaneously involved the issue of constitutional rights for advocates of unpopular ideas. Most of the appeals Lovejoy and his chief supporter, Edward Beecher, advanced in the final months of the Observer conflict contained two key arguments: 1) slavery is morally wrong, and 2) Lovejoy has the right to express his beliefs. As opposition to the first assertion increased, reliance on the second became more necessary. But economic self-interest and fear of social unrest produced a public mood, in Alton in 1837, unsympathetic to appeals even to fundamental constitutional principles. At the end, Lovejoy resorted to a rhetorical stance common among martyrs, placing his destiny with the Almighty while maintaining that moral justice and Truth would ultimately triumph over human error.

The hostility encountered by Lovejoy was not atypical of antebellum America. Mob actions against Abolitionist editors and orators became a common occurrence after 1830, and most Southern states actually passed laws limiting free expression related to the slavery question. Nye concluded that the whole Abolitionist debate formed "a turning point in the history of journalism," with the South generally willing to allow vested economic interests to nullify constitutional considerations of press freedom.[34] In this sense the Civil War, which Lovejoy's martyrdom anticipated in microcosm, loomed as a contest not only to eliminate slavery and the right of secession, but also to preserve the freedoms of the First Amendment.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For biographical background see Merton L. Dillon, Elijah P. Lovejoy, Abolitionist Editor (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961); John Gill, Tide Without Turning; Elijah P. Lovejoy and Freedom of the Press (Boston: Starr King, 1958); Joseph C. and Owen Lovejoy, Memoir of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy (New York: John S. Taylor, 1838); and Paul Simon, Lovejoy; Martyr to Freedom (St. Louis: Concordia, 1964).

[2]A minority opinion still holds that Lovejoy was run out of St. Louis and eventually killed primarily because he disrupted local politics by fomenting antipathies between Protestants and Roman Catholics rather than due to his strong stand against slavery. Interview with Ross Doyel, Associate Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Alton, Illinois, June 6, 1983.

[3]Dillon, p. 62. Beecher was a son of the distinguished New England cleric Lyman Beecher and a brother of Harriet Beecher (Stowe), author of the highly influential Uncle Tom's Cabin (1852).

[4]Russel B. Nye, Fettered Freedom; Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1830-1860 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1963), pp. 145-146.

[5]Quoted in Gill, p. 78.

[6]Quoted in Dillon, p. 92. To the dismay of most Alton residents earlier that day hoodlums, presumably from St. Louis, had destroyed Lovejoy's newly arrived press and thrown it into the Mississippi River.

[7]Quoted in Gill, p. 114.

[8]Quoted in Dillon, p. 110.

[9]See Dillon, pp. 114-115.

[10]Quoted in Dillon, p. 117.

[11]Quoted in Dillon, p. 140.

[12]Quoted in Dillon, p. 145. Milton had written: "Let her [Truth] and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?" Aereopagitica (1644).

[13]Quoted in Dillon, p. 145. Thermopylae was the famous pass in Greece where Spartan soldiers under King Leonidas heroically but unsuccessfully resisted the advances of a Persian army under King Xerxes in 480 B.C.

[14]Jesus himself had taught that when a city rejects a preacher he should leave, shaking the dust from his sandals. See Luke 10: 10-11.

[15]Luther helped ignite the Protestant Reformation with "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise, so help me God!" A Treasury of the World's Great Speeches ed. Houston Peterson (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965), p. 89.

[16]This and foregoing excerpts from the Market House speech are taken from the full text in Gill, pp. 215-217, based largely on Edward Beecher, Narrative of the Riots at Alton (Alton, 1838), pp. 85-91.

[17]Quoted in Carleton Mabee, Black Freedom; The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 Through the Civil War (New York: Macmillan, 1970), p. 41.

[18]John M. Krum, "To the Public," The Alton Telegraph (November 15, 1837), p. 3.

[19]Henry Tanner, The Martyrdom of Lovejoy (Chicago: Fergus, 1881), p. 158.

[20]Russel B. Nye, William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers (Boston: Little, Brown, 1955), p. 102. For a sampling of editorial opinion see Tanner, pp. 159-164.

[21]The Liberator, November 24, 1837, quoted in Tanner, p. 161.

[22]Quoted in Hazel Catherine Wolf, On Freedom's Altar; The Martyr Complex in the Abolitionist Movement (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952), p. 47.

[23]Herbert Aptheker (ed.), A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States I (New York: Citadel, 1969), 175.

[24]Edward Magdol, Owen Lovejoy: Abolitionist in Congress (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1967), p. 23.

[25]Jules Archer, Angry Abolitionist: William Lloyd Garrison (New York: Julian Messner, 1972), p. 101, and my "Faneuil Hall: Shrine of American Oratory," Communication Quarterly (Spring, 1981), 83-84.

[26]The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln ed. Roy P. Basler, I (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 111.

[27]See Mabee, pp. 38-50, and Aileen S. Kraditor, Means and Ends in American Abolitionism; Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850 (New York: Pantheon, 1969), pp. 82-83.

[28]For the texts of speeches given at the dedication see Melvin Jameson, Elijah Parish Lovejoy as a Christian (Rochester, New York: Scrantom, Wetmore, 1907).

[29]Interview with Jesse L. Cannon, first President, Elijah P. Lovejoy Memorial, Alton, Illinois, June 6, 1983.

[30]Interview with Robert W. Tabscott, President, Elijah Parish Lovejoy Society, St. Louis, Missouri, June 23, 1984.

[31]For a survey of the major antislavery papers see Albert Bushnell Hart, Slavery and Abolition, 1831-1841 (New York: Harper, 1906), pp. 152-214.

[32]Irving Dilliard, "How America's First Press Martyr Gave His Life for Freedom," The Quill (October, 1952).

[33]Quoted in Gill, p. viii. Sulzberger was speaking at Lovejoy's alma mater, Colby College, on November 9, 1956.

[34]Nye, Fettered Freedom, p. 172.